HUMAN EVENTS

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Business In Politics: American business has donned its bathing suit, approached the beach, even tried the temperature of the water with its toe—but so far has not taken the decisive plunge into politics. Such is the judgment of experts in the Capital, after analyzing all the reports of business political action which have filled the press for the past month.

True, American business, by and large, has moved close to a decision to engage in political action; and that's a creditable breakthrough in a field for 20 years submerged by political timidity. (This movement gained its initial impetus from an article entitled "What Businessmen Can Do to Combat the Foes of Business," by Lemuel C. Boulware, then vice president of General Electric [now retired], appearing in HUMAN EVENTS for February 2, 1957.*) But—it is pointed out by Washington observers—the political action so far manifested consists largely of speechifying, holding political seminars, and expanding further the novel idea of businessmen pounding the pavements in the precincts. That's progress; but it is not, as yet, performance. What's needed, it is emphasized, is all-out participation in the cockpit of primary and election contests, with the essential political warfare of words and slogans and the ringing up of big scores at the election booths.

● Two current developments underline this argument in the thinking of Capital observers:

Incumbent Senator Ralph Yarborough (D.-Tex.) last week decisively licked William A. Blakley, Dallas businessman, in the Texas Democratic primary. The former was backed by the AFL-CIO and COPE (labor's political action committee) and has a "liberal-ADA" record of voting in Washington. Blakley is a conservative and should have received the all-out backing of conservatives and businessmen in the Lone Star State. He did not get it; the political activity in his behalf (know-how, propaganda, and the rest) was "lousy," as Texas sources tell the story. COPE activity plus conservative failure to swing into action (whichever was the more important factor remains a matter for argument) registered another triumph for the labor bosses.

The second development—so far unpublicized—concerns the Democratic primary in Tennessee (August 7), in which incumbent Senator Albert Gore battles candidate Prentice Cooper, former Governor. Gore is a left-winger and has a long voting record in the Capital marked by allegiance to "liberal" and labor boss dictation. Cooper is a conservative from stem to stern. A visitor from Mars would innocently assume that Tennessee and national business would line up solidly behind Cooper. Not so.

HUMAN EVENTS has in its possession photostatic copies of two letters (dated July 11th and July 21st) on the stationery of "Mason-Dixon Lines, Inc., Kingsport, Tenn.," signed by E. Ward King, Chairman of the Board, soliciting contributions for the re-election of Gore.

In the first letter, King says: "Our industry leaders in Washington are calling on company officials and other personnel in the trucking firms all over the country to come through with personal checks from $10 to $25, made out to 'Gore for Senate Committee.' This avalanche of small checks will show Senator Gore and everyone else that our industry appreciates what Senator Gore has done for us and we in Tennessee must do our part."

What has Gore "done" to deserve this "slush fund"? The Chairman of the Mason-Dixon Lines Board states that Gore had the courage to "stand up and fight" for what the industry wanted in the matter of the interstate highway program and "flatly refused to go along" with congressional attempts to finance such programs by an increase in the tax on fuel.

In short, a "special interest" gathers financial backing for a Senator whose voting pattern makes certain he will continue working to undermine the free enterprise system. Furthermore, reports from Tennessee link this effort with the pro-Gore activities of Jimmy Hoffa, gangster boss of the Teamsters Union. Thus, instead of working for genuine business political action, a segment of American business toils hand-in-glove with the labor bosses on behalf of a candidate who favors big government.

● There is more. All reports from California indicate that many business leaders out there refuse to support Senator Knowland's bid for the Governorship—thus deserting this courageous candidate in his crucial struggle against big labor. Likewise, all reports from New York suggest that business elements in the Empire State are pushing Nelson Rockefeller for the GOP gubernatorial nomination. Rockefeller has a complete New Deal record

* Other HUMAN EVENTS articles on this subject have included "The Boss is Baffled," by David Shea Teeple, appearing in HUMAN EVENTS for August 18, 1956; two full-length articles by Raymond Moley, November 30 and December 7, 1957—"The Big Roadblock to Conservative Victory," and "Conservative Victory: How to Achieve It"; "Men to Match My Mountains," by James M. Brewbaker, appearing in HUMAN EVENTS for April 7, 1958; and "How to Beat the Labor Bosses," by James L. Wick, appearing in HUMAN EVENTS for July 7, 1958. All of this was attended by a vigorous campaign waged among business elements by Representative Ralph Gwinn (R.-N.Y.).

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and is masterminded by Anna Rosenberg, left-wing Democratic relic of the Truman regime. His principal opponent is conservative Leonard Hall, who—as Washington observers put it—was "the greatest Republican National Chairman since Mark Hanna."

In short, say Washington observers: "Unless business goes all out for the election of Knowland in California and the nomination and election of Hall in New York, the political action crusade will suffer keen disillusionment in the vital elections next November."

Along Diplomatic Row: The State Department—following exposure of its foreign-aid conduct in HUMAN EVENTS for July 21, 1958—has reversed one of its policies and is now giving generous economic aid to the embattled Turkish Republic.

Two weeks ago, HUMAN EVENTS reported that US strategists (faced with the Iraq revolution) feared that a similar pro-Moscow military coup would occur in Turkey. The Turks, HUMAN EVENTS disclosed, were angry because America, while pouring out foreign aid to Communist Poland and Yugoslavia, had given no economic aid to Turkey. Although the American Congress had voted Turkey $300 million in such aid, the International Cooperation Administration (ICA) had not transferred one cent to that inflation-ridden nation. Hence the threat that our firmest ally in the Mideast would make its peace with Moscow.

What happened? Publication of the story resulted in numerous protests—by phone, wire and letter—to Dulles from VIP's among HUMAN EVENTS subscribers. The Secretary (who apparently did not know what his underlings were doing) was shocked and ordered the $300 million handed over to Turkey immediately. Word from responsible sources says that the transfer has taken place in the past 48 hours.

Curbing the Court: Two bills which in different legal ways seek to curb the flagrant conduct of the Supreme Court stand before the Senate. One, HR 3, passed the House of Representatives recently by a big margin. The other, S. 2646, known as the Jenner-Butler bill, was reported out favorably by the Senate Judiciary Committee by a vote of 10-5, but—because of obstruction by Senate Majority Leader Lyndon Johnson—has not been given the green light for debate and voting on the floor. Johnson similarly has failed to schedule action on HR 3.

Because of this attitude on the part of the Senate leadership, much doubt has been cast on Senate action on either or both of these bills, in view of the approach of adjournment. However, according to reliable reports reaching HUMAN EVENTS, conservatives are rallying in a great effort to break this barrier, with good chances of success.

For one thing, the conservative coalition agreed, in a closed door session, to give priority to HR 3 because it passed the House, but with the proviso that the Jenner-Butler bill would be called up on the floor immediately afterward. Meanwhile, two powerful conservative Democratic Senators—Eastland and Russell—have been exerting great pressure on Johnson to allow votes on both bills.

Eastland and Russell are powerful figures in the Southern Democratic bloc which rules in the Senate. But still another of that group—Senator John McClellan of Arkansas—is expected to throw his weight into the balance. Publicly, he has indicated support of HR 3, but no exertion on his part to follow this up has been noticed in the cloakroom. In the past week, however, the *AFL-CIO News* virtually defied McClellan to push this "curb the Court" bill. Around the Hill, this is regarded as a challenge to McClellan. If he takes it up and joins Eastland and Russell, floor consideration and probable passage of the Court bill should follow.

Conservative zeal for the HR 3 measure has been stimulated by reports in the Senate cloakrooms that "emissaries" of the Court have been in touch with the Democratic leadership, and that the emissaries reflect great worry on the part of the nine Justices.

Death of a Hoax: Senator John F. Kennedy (D.-Mass.) says the Kennedy-Ives labor bill is dead for this session. If he is right about the demise of this "hoax" labor reform measure, who actually killed cock robin?

The efforts of conservatives, including some business organizations, undoubtedly drove home to Congress the dangers and shortcomings of this bill. Careful analysis had shown that the Kennedy-Ives bill would weaken the Taft-Hartley Act and hamstring employers rather than cure the evils exposed by the McClellan Rackets Committee. The bill, however, did win for Kennedy the favor of Reuther and Meany, whose nod will determine whether the young Massachusetts Senator gets the Democratic Presidential nomination in 1960.

But the decisive reason why the bill appears to have foundered is found on Capitol Hill. Labor experts say it was due to fear by the labor bosses that the bill would be toughened against them if it went through the legislative process of the House. Representative Graham Barden (D.-N.C.), Chairman of the House Labor Committee and a long-time antagonist of labor-union power, would undoubtedly have reshaped the Kennedy-Ives bill in a fashion scarcely palatable to Reuther and Meany. Hence, according to the grapevine, the twain got their friend, Democratic Speaker Sam Rayburn, to stop the bill from moving through the House.

Stock Market: The bull market is founded upon a line of reasoning which goes somewhat as follows:

"Underlying all of the conventional theories of finance and economics is the axiom that invested capital is entitled to a fair return—the only variance being in the attempt to determine what constitutes a fair return. The new school [backing the present bull market] casts aside this basic principle . . . The notion that capital is entitled to earn a definite rate of return is an illusion, say these radicals, the real truth being that capital must be employed irrespective of return . . .

"We are piling up our individual bank deposits; pouring billions of dollars into savings banks and building and loan associations; purchasing billions of dollars of insurance; lending billions abroad; and we will seek

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an outlet for our surplus wealth in stock-exchange shares . . .

"We must abandon the theory that stocks have a definite relationship with corporate earnings and book value equities, say these radicals; we must discard the notion that they are 'too high' because the per-share values in this market exceed the quotations of past years when the Nation was a country of limited capital supply and abundant capital requirements. We must now accept the fundamental axiom that capital must find employment at any price."

Certain wary old hands on the Street are bringing up the above analysis to shock the customers. For none of the quoted paragraphs appeared in any publication this year; they appeared in the *Magazine of Wall Street* of December 29, 1928—about 30 years ago. A lot of customers "bought" this theory at that time. They changed their minds approximately ten months later, in October, 1929, when the greatest stock price decline in history started. *Verb. sap.*

Morse: Foremost among Democratic critics of the Administration's move to circumvent Red aggression by the dispatch of troops to Lebanon has been Senator Wayne Morse (D.-Ore.). Morse made a Senate speech, July 24, in which he disclosed that it was "refreshing" to him to learn that members of the British Parliament opposed the landing of troops in the Middle East. As a preliminary to these remarks, Morse inserted into the *Record* two cablegrams, allegedly from groups of students and medical personnel in Iraq. The cables denounced American "aggression" in the Middle East, and argued the legitimacy of the military junta that murdered King Feisal of Iraq.

Morse was not the only critic of US Mideastern policy to receive such messages or to attempt to give them publicity. The identical radiograms were received by The Worker, Moscow's official mouthpiece in the United States, and prominently featured on page one of its issue of July 27. The Worker, like Morse, thought the cables important enough to have their pro-Communist texts reproduced in full.

Summit: Public revulsion at the Administration's flop from toughness to appeasement in the Middle East is reflected, say those who read the barometers of US opinion, in the many vigorous expressions of distaste for the proposed Summit meeting, wherever held, and for Nikita Khrushchev. The last thing the American people want, say these analysts, is an "accommodation" with the butcher of Hungary, whatever the terms proposed.

Reflecting America's implacable dislike for the Soviet tyrant was the barbed comment of Representative Frank Bow (R.-Ohio) on the proposal to have Khrushchev in New York, and to swathe him in the protective embrace of American police. Speaking out against "elaborate preparations" to insure Khrushchev's safety, Bow admonished US authorities to let the Red boss "take his chances with those victims of tyranny who have found freedom here."

Also suggesting that deep fires of anger are banked beneath the calm US exterior was the comment of Senator Styles Bridges (R.-N.H.), on Khrushchev's arrogant attempt to arraign America as an "aggressor" in the Middle East. "For the United States to accept this kind of a call to a Summit meeting," said the New Hampshire legislator, "would amount to the sacrifice of the respect and dignity a sovereign nation has a right to claim in the family of nations. For too long a time in its desire to advance the peace of the world, the United States has closed its eyes to indignities against its citizens, against members of its armed forces, and against the good repute of the Nation."

● Meanwhile, flashes of public anger strike against Soviet tyranny and the appeasement policies of the Administration. Early last month, a group of 35 American students and members of patriotic organizations in the Washington area marched before the White House in protest against US failure to act vigorously on behalf of imprisoned American personnel abroad. A week later, eight college students were arrested for demonstrating in front of the Soviet Embassy. Three of them elected to stand trial, rather than forfeit collateral on the "disorderly conduct" charges filed against them.

And, one week ago, a group of clergymen staged a prayer service directly in front of the Embassy, in protest against Soviet tyranny and Western appeasement. The clergymen were ordered to move on by the police, enforcing Washington's "500-foot law," which secures Soviet diplomats and spies from the affront of being picketed by opponents of Red despotism. The statement of these ministers, as related to HUMAN EVENTS by their spokesman, Rev. Carl O. McIntire of Collingswood, N. J., reads as follows:

"We call upon Christian people for special prayer for the US and the cause of freedom. We pray that all appeasement of the Reds shall end, that there be no Summit conference with Khrushchev, that the United States will get out of the United Nations, and that the Soviet Embassy, the Red center of espionage and subversion, be removed from the United States. Freedom is being crucified on the cross of the United Nations, and Uncle Sam is helping to drive the nails."

● Furnishing a representative sample of US public opinion on appeasement at the Summit was a spot survey conducted last week by *The Wall Street Journal*. The *Journal's* conclusion: "Talk with Americans in many walks of life around the land . . . and you find a vast amount of skepticism about the value of a Summit conference at this time, a growing support for Eisenhower's action in sending troops to Lebanon, and a definite hardening in attitude toward the Russians." The *Journal* states that "nine out of every ten people" questioned backed the movement of troops into the Middle East.

Education Front: Indicative of how the popular revolt against "progressive" education has forced even the professional educators to retreat are two recent reports of the US Office of Education—a stronghold of educational "liberals." The first recommends that foreign languages—anathema to "progressives"—should be taught

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beginning in the third grade. (Foreign language training in American schools usually consists of two years of high school study, with less than 15 per cent of the students enrolled in these courses.)

The second report, on mathematics, also strikes several blows at the forces of "progressivism." According to this study, neither the size of the class nor the size of the school has any measurable bearing on the quality of high school mathematics teaching.

The important thing in mathematics teaching—says the report—is the quality of the teacher and the teacher's preparation. One of the principal needs suggested by the research was that teachers who are going to instruct others in mathematics learn more about their subject—an approach long favored by conservatives demanding more emphasis on subject matter, less on "methods" courses.

● Amidst the continued cry of "liberal" educators that colleges are filled to capacity and need Federal aid in order to admit all students who wish to attend, attention is called to a sober article entitled "These Colleges Want *More* Students," by Lee Edward Stern, in a recent issue of *Better Homes and Gardens*. One reason why many colleges have room for additional students, reports Stern, "is the mushrooming use of multiple applications—some students apply to as many as 30 schools at the same time. As a result, colleges find that many of those accepted don't show up.

"To combat this situation, a few schools set artificially high admission quotas. Brown accepts 1200 in order to be sure of having 620 freshmen. Vassar admits 650 to get 400. In spite of all precautions, however, some colleges find themselves victims of the multiple application mania, and enter the school year with unfilled classes."

Pork Barrel: Advocates of US solvency are caustic in their comments on the recent report that the Government's deficit for fiscal year 1957-58 ran to $2.8 billion, and that a deficit of two to three times that much is expected for the fiscal year now under way. Complaints that the recession has impaired Government receipts, they say, miss the point. The real culprit, explain the economy advocates, is not the "recession," but the continued excesses of the partisans of big spending.

Thus fire is centered on the so-called "Community Facilities Act of 1958," which conservative legislators blast as "pork-barrel" legislation, pure and simple. The bill would authorize the US Treasury to buy municipal bonds or to loan money directly to cities for use in construction of "public works." The act, says Representative Edgar Hiestand (R.-Calif.), "would encourage municipal projects of a marginal character, by giving priority to projects that cannot be readily financed through regular channels," and would "transfer municipal financing from private investment enterprises to the Federal Government."

Noting the prospects for a huge deficit this year, syndicated columnist Raymond Moley also focuses on the "pork" that is being herded through Congress. "Loan authorizations," Moley pointed out in a recent column (distributed by The Associated Newspapers, 229 W. 43rd St., New York), "are a much more serious threat than straight appropriations at this time . . . for they permit agencies to borrow directly from the Treasury, thus bypassing Congress."

The columnist cites the example of the "Housing Act of 1958," now before the Senate, which, lumped with the "Emergency Housing Act" passed in April, brings the total of funds committed under "housing" legislation to the staggering sum of $4.7 billion. "Both measures," Moley observes, "would authorize borrowing from the Treasury directly without review or approval of the appropriation committees of the two houses."

● Congressman Charles W. Vursell (R.-Ill.) lashed out last week at both the housing and community facilities bills. To forestall their passage, Vursell called for early adjournment of this session of Congress. "The greatest service the leadership of the House and Senate could render the people," he commented, "would be to adjourn Congress as quickly as possible. By a quick adjournment we could save the taxpayers probably $4 [billion] to $5 billion in bills now pending—every dollar of which would be a waste and a burden on the taxpayers."

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M. STANTON EVANS, *Managing Editor* — FRANK CHODOROV, *Contributing Editor*

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Article Section *Printed in Two Sections*

UNDERMINING THE MONOPOLY SCHOOL SYSTEM

Court Pressures Spur Movement to Private Education

By FRANK CHODOROV

National attention will be focused next month on the state of Virginia, where a "showdown" between state and Federal powers, concerning racial integration of the public schools, is in the making. Frank Chodorov, Contributing Editor of HUMAN EVENTS and a well-known commentator on educational matters, travelled to Prince Edward County, Virginia, to make an on-the-spot survey of one of the principal battlegrounds in the school controversy. His article affords a first-hand view of the measures being taken by Virginians to maintain an effective educational system, while simultaneously resisting the encroachments of the Federal Government.

"WE BELIEVE our private school system will provide our children with at least as good an education as they now get in the public school. Even though our sole purpose is to avoid mixing of the races in the classroom, we do not intend to sacrifice educational standards."

Thus spoke the president of the Prince Edward Educational Corporation (PEEC), organized by white folks of Prince Edward County, Virginia, to provide for the education of their children in schools of their own choice—that is, in non-integrated schools. Just as soon as the court sets a mandatory date for integration—the order is expected to come down before the September opening—the corporation will go into operation.

The effect will be that only the Negro half of the school population will attend tax-supported schools—provided enough taxes can be collected to support them. The chances are that the revenues will not be enough, for the whites who pay most of the taxes will at the proper time see that the levies are lowered in proportion to the services they do not receive. Thus, the prospect is that private schools will replace the tax-supported schools in Prince Edward County and a "sacred cow" will have been slaughtered.

The Prince Edward story underscores a lesson in political science. You never can foretell all the consequences of a law, especially one aimed at changing the mores of a people by force; often the consequences are quite different from those expected by the proponents of the law. When the Reconstructionists railroaded the Fourteenth Amendment into the Constitution, they had no idea, as far as the records show, that it would lead to Federal intervention in the management of schools supported by local taxation. That consequence came some 80 years later. And it is quite unlikely that Chief Justice Warren expected his Court's 1954 decision to unleash a mass movement toward private schooling and an undermining of the monopoly position of the public school. That consequence is still in the future, but its outlines are even now quite discernible.

The movement is currently limited to several Southern states where the desegregation law enacted by the United States Supreme Court is meeting with violent opposition.* When, as now seems inevitable, all the legal efforts to avoid desegregation shall have failed, and the courts, supported by the threat of enforcement by Federal troops, shall insist on immediate compliance, the governments of these states are authorized to discontinue their tax-supported school systems.

THAT they will use that authority is almost certain, for, despite assertions by social planners that the South will bow to the Supreme Court law, the temper of the people is violently against compliance, and a state legislator or Governor in the Deep South who should side with the

* In the North, where segregation takes the form of flight to the suburbs from the Negro centers in the cities, the private school is doing a land-office business; enrollments have reached the saturation point, despite increases in tuition fees, and people whose income does not warrant the expense have become customers. But this is due in part to dissatisfaction with the "progressive" curriculum that has infested the public school.

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Supreme Court would be committing political suicide. There is no question about that.

The laws passed in these states to meet the present attack on their mores differ as to details, but the essential feature of their strategic program is the same: parents who send their children to private schools will be entitled to a tax grant comparable to the present cost of educating these children in a public school. (In Virginia, grants of about $350 a year would be offered to students who leave integrated schools or who are prevented from attending school by state laws providing for closure.)

Thus, if and when these states are compelled to resort to this anti-segregation device, the economic advantage which the public school now enjoys will have been lost. It will be put into competition with the private school, and if the latter demonstrates its educational superiority, the fact will not be lost on the rest of the country.

* * *

The Prince Edward plan differs from that of the rest of the South in that it is avowedly a venture in private schooling, under the organization of private citizens and unrelated to politics. It arose out of the peculiar circumstance that Prince Edward County was selected by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People as one of the defendants in the original desegregation case. Why it should have been so singled out is not quite clear; perhaps the reason was that the population of this county is about equally divided between whites and Negroes. The total population is, in round figures, 15,000, with about one-third located in the city of Farmville. It is a distinctly rural community, where "everybody knows everybody else," where changes in population result mainly from births and deaths, where neighborliness is reinforced by homogeneity of background. Tradition is always strong in such a community and any threat to the accustomed way of life is likely to meet spontaneous opposition. There is little of that divisiveness upon which the reformer must depend for support.

So, when the ruling of the Supreme Court went against the county, the white citizenry had no difficulty in coming to a common purpose and a plan of action. The only thing to do in the circumstances—since desegregation was unthinkable—was to set up a school system that would be beyond the reach of the Supreme Court, one that would be free of political entanglements. That posed a financial problem. The principal item in a school budget is the payroll, which in the case of Prince Edward County comes to $200,000. Contributions and pledges for that amount, for the first year, were not hard to come by. The 68 white teachers and principals in the county were asked, by mail, if they would go along with the plan; all but one answered affirmatively, and that one did not say yes or no.

THE NEXT STEP was to find locations, since, for the present, the county-owned school buildings will not be available. The churches in the towns and villages were quick to offer the use of their facilities. To avoid the expense of a transportation system, locations akin to the "little red school house" were found in the sparsely settled areas. Thus, a place for every white pupil in the county has been provided, and every pupil has been assigned to that place. The delay of the court in setting a date for compulsory integration has necessitated annual readjustments.

The curriculum came up for consideration. As a matter of necessity, if not of choice, the curriculum committee decided that all "frill" courses would be dropped. Prince Edward County has not been too badly afflicted with "progressivism," but a few courses of dubious educational value and requiring expensive equipment, like home economics, had crept into the school system. These will be eliminated. The first seven grades will be confined to the traditional "three-R" curriculum. In the eighth or intermediary grade, the students will be given instruction in mathematics, American history and general science.

The high school student will be required to take four years of English, four of mathematics (including trigonometry), two of Latin, two of American history and government, four of general science, physics, chemistry and biology. Two modern languages, French and Spanish, will be offered, oddly enough, as electives, as

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will a course in world history; everything else in the curriculum will be obligatory.

What the committee decided upon can be called "bone dry" education, the kind our "progressives" have been subverting these last 30 years. The student, if he wants it, will surely get a good grounding, one that any college will find acceptable. As an added indication of the committee's break with "progressivism," students will be competitively graded and advancement from class to class will be made on the basis of achievement, not of age.

That is the present plan of the corporation. What will happen after the first year will depend on political developments. The present county school budget is about $650,000, to which the state contributes approximately one-half. When half the school population decamp, taking the faculty with them, the tax-rate will have to be cut proportionately; certainly, the incorporators of PEEC, who are among the most prominent citizens of the county, will see to that. The financial strain on the supporters of the system will thus be eased. Then, there is the question of state contributions; will the corporation be entitled to such help? That calls for a look at Virginia's plan to meet the desegregation problem.

Under the Virginia law, when a school district decides in favor of desegregation, the Governor is instructed to close the schools of that district; he may then re-open them, but he is prohibited from giving state aid to such integrated schools. Can he then give financial assistance to non-integrated private schools, such as those operated by the PEEC? There is some doubt about that, particularly because the law distinguishes between private and church-related schools; the fact that the PEEC leans heavily on the use of church buildings may militate against its receiving state aid. That is a matter yet to be decided, and it may be decided by the device of renting the space from the churches.

Incidentally, there is some speculation in Virginia about what will happen in Arlington County, which has already been ordered to begin integration in its schools this fall. Suppose it chooses to comply unreservedly with the order. It then loses state aid, but because its Negro population is small and a large number of Washington bureaucrats reside in the county, it may be able to foot the bill itself.

To return to Prince Edward County: "What about your childless couples and bachelors; will they contribute to your corporation?" The directors registered surprise that this question should be put to them; it seemed out of place. In a community like Prince Edward County, they said, public opinion is too potent a force to be ignored; even the childless and the bachelors are uncles and aunts. And the editor of the local bi-weekly surmised that a listing in his paper would bring the recalcitrants into line. (A further question: will the widow who has moved to California or Florida, but who owns property in Prince Edward County, make a voluntary contribution equal to the reduction in school taxes?)

"What about the Negro children?" "We have thought of them. In our policy statement we declare our intention to cooperate with Negroes in the setting up of their own school system, if they ask for such cooperation. So far, they have shown no interest. Maybe they think we are bluffing. Maybe they are characteristically trusting to luck. When they wake up to reality, we will be there to help them in every way except financially."

The Commissioner of Revenue says that Negroes pay only 13 per cent of the county's taxes. Evidently they don't have the money to support schools of their own. "County taxes are levied on real estate and the small amount of taxes paid by Negroes simply means they don't own much property. But it does not mean they do not have money. The number of automobiles registered in their names indicates they are not as poor as the tax figures suggest. If the Negroes want their children educated, and are willing to make sacrifices for that purpose, they will not lack for schools. Is it education they want, or integration?"

If anything is certain, one must put in that category the advent of a private school system in Prince Edward County. The quiet determination and the careful planning of the incorporators leave no room for doubt. In their minds there is only one question: what will the Federal Gov-

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ernment do? Will it declare private schooling unconstitutional? Will it compel them, with military might if necessary, to abandon their plan? Their lack of faith in the judiciary is most profound, and they are far from sanguine about the immunities guaranteed the individual under the Constitution.

* * *

Looking ahead, say five years, when school taxes shall have been abolished, or at least adjusted to new conditions, and the state will have taken steps to dispose of its unused school equipment, it is probable that PEEC will give way to competitive private schools. This prediction is supported by the strongly individualistic attitude of the people one meets in this neck of the woods; taking care of one's own business and standing on one's own feet seem to be endemic. Therefore, after PEEC shall have achieved its initial purpose, it is more than likely that the job will be taken over by entrepreneurs in education, perhaps for the profit possibilities, perhaps to develop their own pedagogical theories. At least one of the incorporators is aware of this ultimate possibility, but only speculatively; sufficient unto the day is the job of making the transition from tax-supported to privately financed schools.

The South is watching Prince Edward County. Maybe this out-of-the-way area is setting up a pilot plant for the guidance of others. In no other section is so complete a separation of the school from the political establishment contemplated, as yet. The tuition grant plan (which is easier to put into operation) does not take the state out of the school business; the public school (integrated) will exist for those who want it (although it is hard to see how it can exist, without state aid, as in Virginia). But if, as expected, tuition grants result in a proliferation of private schools to such an extent that the state-run school will find itself with few customers, what will be the purpose of continuing it? It might die of undernourishment.

On the other hand, it is interesting to speculate on the possible improvement of the public school when its monopoly position is broken and it must fight for its life in a competitive field. When tuition grants (or PEEC plans) shall have put a quietus on the integration controversy, the only question the shopping parent will have to consider is the relative merits of the public and the private school, and it is not at all impossible that the former will try to make its services more attractive so as to avert its demise. After all, the public school lost its prestige only after the "progressive" educationists (who are strong integrationists) took it over; before that, the special commodity the private school had to offer was ostentation.

One more point is worth considering in connection with the PEEC plan, or the tuition-grant plan, and that is the likely effect on the drive toward nationalization of the schools of the country. Obviously, the Federal Government could not use tax money to support private schooling and therefore could not intervene in its management. The lobbyists for Federal financing of schools would be put into a strange position if a half-dozen states were practically out of the school business, did not need Federal money and objected to being taxed to support schools in other sections of the country. The situation would be most difficult for those who hope to use the schools for the promotion of socialistic ideas. Meanwhile, on the local level, the bitter controversies over curricula and the equally bitter opposition to increased school taxes and bond issues would be a thing of the past. Private enterprise would bring peace to the educational world.

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